

Dimitry Anastakis. *Auto Pact: Creating a Borderless North American Auto Industry, 1960–1971*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 240 pp.

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[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

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that separated Jews from Irish and Italian Catholics (6)—were sufficient to splinter the New Deal coalition in New York “long before race became a central issue in local or national politics” (93). The book has notable strengths and weaknesses, both of which seem likely springboards for further inquiry.

The strengths of the book are significant, and they should give inspiration to other scholars interested in mid-century ethnicity. Largely concerned with culture and politics, Zeitz nonetheless establishes the social historical importance of ethnicity in postwar New York. Ethnicity shaped residential locations, marital choices, workplace opportunities, and schooling experiences (11–38). Divided social and institutional contexts encouraged very different views of the world. Whereas Jews placed dissent at the core of citizenship and imagined fascism the greatest peril to America, Catholics revered authority and saw Communism as the nation’s greatest threat. With contrasting conceptions of their communities and countries (as well as their enemies), Jews and Catholics voted differently (depending on how you count) from at least the 1940s onward and found themselves on opposing sides of local political controversies (94, 89–90, 114–117). In sum, Zeitz makes a convincing case that European ethnicity continued to shape both daily life and landmark events in postwar New York. His integration of social and political history demonstrates the ongoing linkages between urban ethnic communities and political constituencies. Case studies of other cities seem bound to follow.

Despite its strengths, *White Ethnic New York* may also frustrate some historians of ethnicity and urban life. Two likely qualms lie at the very core of the book. First, Zeitz makes somewhat idiosyncratic and inconsistent use of the concept of ethnicity. The book begins by sensibly (if not entirely grammatically) defining ethnicity as “the intersection between religion, national origins, and class” (3). Whether real or imagined, “national origins” are usually understood as an important member of this triumvirate. However, they play a rather ambiguous role in Zeitz’s study. Throughout the book, Irish and Italian Catholics are identified separately (Zeitz typically refers to “Irish and Italian Catholics,” rather than merely Catholics), but Zeitz offers no sustained examination of national origins within the Catholic fold. His tantalizing suggestion that over time, “Irish and Italian New Yorkers constructed a more united cultural and social front,” receives little further explanation (12). With Jews an only ambivalently “national” group, readers might ask whether this is really an account of the role of religion—rather than ethnicity—in social life and politics. The haziness of the book in this regard should provoke fuller explorations of the place of nationality in postwar ethnicity.

Second, Zeitz is needlessly stark in his discussion of ethnicity and race. Suggesting at the outset that historians have erred in “grafting race so tightly to ethnicity,” Zeitz goes too far in prying the two apart (5). Even as they soured on civil rights and gravitated to politicians advocating “law and order,” Zeitz suggests that New Yorkers were expressing the reality that the city had become a “difficult place to live,” rather than concerns

about race per se (147–156). But here Zeitz’s claims, heavily reliant on opinion polls, fail to convince. Segregation and discrimination were hardly invisible to white ethnic New Yorkers before the 1960s. Instead, they made choices that exacerbated these patterns. For example, residential segregation reflects widespread residential choices and broad based exclusionary practices. Although Zeitz acknowledges the existence of “grassroots” resistance to integration, he fails to include this resistance in his portrayal of white ethnics (150–155). What did Jews and Irish and Italian Catholics say (and do) about residential and employment discrimination in the early postwar period? Did they differ in their opinions or actions? Zeitz offers little of the fine-grained analysis of the early chapters in answer to these important questions. As a result, *White Ethnic New York* misses a chance to reframe discussions of postwar racial politics from a perspective that is attentive to ethnically inflected worldviews. However, future scholars are likely to thank Zeitz for this oversight, as both the strengths and weaknesses of the book leave readers with enticing questions. A book likely to prompt others, *White Ethnic New York* is a most welcome addition to the nascent literature on postwar urban ethnicity in the United States.

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Dimitry Anastakis. *Auto Pact: Creating a Borderless North American Auto Industry, 1960–1971*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 240 pp.

If there was anything that you ever wanted to know about 1965’s Autopact but were afraid to ask, then this extremely well-researched, written and conceived book is for you. Based solidly on archival documents, supplemented with interviews, including one with Simon Reisman, the agreement’s Tasmanian devil cum negotiator, and an extensive secondary bibliography, *Autopact* takes the reader behind the scenes and into the discussions among those involved on both sides. Dimitry Anastakis focuses almost exclusively on those events that led into the Autopact, as well as its aftermath, but especially on the negotiations themselves. As a result, he writes, this book is not about the period’s political and economic history except insofar as it impinges upon the march to Autopact happiness, at least for the Canadians. While a few other recent contributions to the historiography have dealt with elements of the agreement, for example, my own *Dancing Around the Elephant* (2007) and Greg Donaghy, *Tolerant Allies: Canada and the United States, 1963–68* (2002), Anastakis’ contribution is the first historical work to deal exhaustively with the subject. Given its thoroughness, there need not be another.

Clearly, the agreement was important for Ontario—the province was the big winner in the Autopact sweeps, even though Queen’s Park, completely and utterly disinterested in what was being negotiated in 1964, was not a part of the story. Trade agreements were federal matters and provincial politicians

were unlikely then to get involved in the discussions no matter how they might affect provincial prosperity. It eventually led to the province's most important industry, employing hundreds of thousands with good wages and benefits and contributing billions to provincial coffers over the years. It also solidified the economies of a number of Ontario cities, including Oakville, Oshawa, St. Catharines, St. Thomas and Windsor, and as well as Ste. Thérèse, Quebec. In more recent years some automobile plants, like those in St. Catharines and Ste. Thérèse have closed, but this does not minimize their contribution to local employment over several decades. To this must also be added the activities of the parts manufacturers.

An inevitable charge arises with any discussion of the Autopact, that it was a part of the "sell-out" of Canadian industry to US interests, or at least the continuing integration of the Canadian economy into that of the United States. However, as I have shown in my work, and as Anastakis does here, what was the alternative? Certainly American interests bought companies in Canada, (and Canadians bought in the US), but governments operate within certain limitations and one of those is to provide, as much as possible, a comfortable living for citizens. The Autopact and associated industries helped to accomplish that for many thousands of Canadians. Moreover, the automobile companies already were American-owned and any talk of a Canadian "people's car" in the 1960s was fantasy, as the author demonstrates. What is also clear from the book is that Ottawa played hardball, as Reisman and his team, backed by committed and unwavering politicians, more than got the better of their US counterparts. In the end, even the ultra-nationalist minister of finance, Walter Gordon, he of the 1963 budget's infamous takeover tax, welcomed the agreement for what it provided Canadians.

To be fair, Canada's success was also partly because the Big Three themselves, and especially Ford and Chrysler, were keen on the Canadian plan for a variety of reasons, like lower wage rates and a cheap currency vis-à-vis the US dollar. As the author points out, the role of Henry Ford II was crucial in convincing President Johnson to sign on and then take an active role in defending it in Congress. Why? Perhaps because that was what "the market" was deciding. This could be styled one of the first indications of the globalization that was to sweep the world in years to come—*American* companies chose to be stateless by favouring *Canada* over their own country. "Loyalty" to the United States went out with yesterday's dishwasher. However, there was another, contrary, phenomenon at work as well; the Autopact was an example of government intervention in the marketplace and "State directed production goals were now the order of the day."⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ The results speak for themselves in terms of employment, wages, benefits and general quality of life for those who participated. Might this be a lesson for the 21st century?

This excellent book is a must-read for anyone interested in the context surrounding the Autopact. It hearkens back to a simpler era where the role of government counted and where Canadians were more confident of their own abilities as well as

having a more definite idea as to where they wanted to go and how to get there.

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Jarrett, Rudy. *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005. 232 pp.

For the past forty years, public health and medical science have framed popular understandings of smoking. Addiction, cancer, quitting methods, heart disease, second-hand smoke, and "denormalization" of the tobacco industry have driven research agendas and shaped public policies concerning cigarette smoking, which annually claims 40,000 lives in Canada. While advancing public health interests, the smoking-as-pathology paradigm largely neglects smoking's cultural dimensions, its role in constructing pleasure, power, self-identity, and social ritual.

Jarrett Rudy's history of smoking in Montreal from the 1880s to the 1940s is guided by cultural questions, namely how "liberal ideas structured the ritual of smoking." Cigarette smoking and female smoking acquired increasing respectability during this period, notably so after the Great War, a cultural transformation occurring in response to economic, social, and political changes. The first chapter, the book's strongest, examines the homosocial context of late 19th-century pipe and cigar smoking. Respectable, bourgeois men refrained from smoking when women were present, while labels like prostitute and moral degenerate were affixed to the small numbers of women smokers. Here masculinity, the public sphere, and respectable smoking co-mingled in ways that reinforced the social power of each concept.

The following chapter examines cultural hierarchy and taste, focusing on cigar connoisseurship and the denigration of *le tabac canadien* and its francophone, just-off-the-farm smokers. Cuban cigars represented the apex of wealth, masculinity, and cultural distinction, while the strong-tasting, Quebec-grown pipe tobacco symbolized hayseed interloper and social inferior. (Henri Bourassa, though, employed the clay pipe as a symbol of French Canadian nationalism.) While Rudy uses terms like "ideology of connoisseurship" and "cultural class formation," he does not draw upon germane theoretical works, like those of Pierre Bourdieu on the interplay of cultural taste and political/social power, that would have heightened this chapter's explanatory power.

The final two chapters discuss the rising popularity of cigarette smoking and the increasing participation of women. This is in part a business story and Rudy provides interesting material on industry leader American Tobacco Company of Canada (Imperial Tobacco after 1912) and its restraint-of-trade distribution practices which provided retailers with much higher profits if they carried only ATCC brands. World War One brought new meanings for the cigarette, as it served as creature comfort for